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ABSTRACT

While much contemporary theoretical discussion has centered upon "professionalism" in broadcast journlism, little attention has been paid to describing the professional orientations of currently practicing newsmen. Results ofa survey that tested the self-concept of working journalists in television and radio revealed that the respondents agreed that a "professional" journalist should maintain objectivity, resist the influence of graduities, and be willing to go to jail to protect freedom of the press. The survey results were inconclusive, however, in that there was no universal agreement on professional standards, no clear answer to the problem of journalist certification, and no agreement on the extent of "editorializing" allowable in "straight news" stories. Too, there emerged no clear way of predicting which newsmen hold high professional standards, since educational level and "prestige," the expected indicators, failed to show linear results. Some way of defining a "good" news story must be found before the professionalism of newsmen can be more accurately rated. (CH)

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PROFESSIONAL ORIENTATIONS OF BROADCAST NEWSMEN

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The professional competence of the American journalist has long been a topic of public debate, and in very recent years the issue has flared with renewed intensity. Few occupations in our society are so caught up in the dilemma of to what extent standards of professional competence ought to be stressed at the expense of individual license, in this case license granted under the First Amendment. The problem is if anything more acute for the broadcast journalist, who for a number of reasons often takes the brunt of public and governmental criticism.

While a great deal of discussion has centered upon what professionalism in broadcast journalism ought to involve, relatively little notice has been given to describing the nature and extent of professional orientations of newsmen themselves, and what factors are related to these orientations. This study addresses itself to that problem.

This research is concerned with the working broadcast newsman: who he is; what background and training he has; what beliefs and values he holds about his own job specifically and about the community of broadcast journalists in general; and, in particular, his professional orientation toward his occupation. We have focused on a paradigm derived from occupational sociology literature which suggests that in modern technologically oriented societies the distinction formerly made between "professional" and "nonprofessional" occupations often becomes blurred. Rather than classify occupations as being either professions or nonprofessions by somewhat arbitrary dividing lines, occupations may be ranked as being more or less professional along given descriptive attributes. Attributes which have been used as indicators of professionalism include: (1) Extensive training in a specialized technique supported by a body of research and theory; (2) Support of a code of ethics by an association of colleagues; (3) The performance of a unique and essential service recognized by the community; (4) Emphasis on public service vs. private financial gain; and (5) Acceptance by practitioners of autonomy and strong personal responsibility for judgments and actions. It is argued that while "classical professions" such as medicine and law clearly score high on these attributes, other occupations such as engineering, teaching, and journalism, have these attributes to some extent and aspire to have more of them, and may be classed as emerging professions.[1]

Moreover, following an approach taken by McLeod, we have chosen to examine the nature of professional attributes of journalists themselves rather than the societal view of the occupation.[2] While societal perceptions of journalism as a profession are important and strong debate has ensued over differing views, the extent to which journalists see

themselves as and act as professionals is of key importance. The degree to which journalism can be regarded as a profession strongly depends upon the professional "state of mind" of its practitioners. Studies of professionals in other fields have indicated that they place greater emphasis than do other individuals on public service, personal responsibility, intellectual activity, autonomy and influence.

A body of research literature has grown which investigates journalists in the above context. While earlier studies and speculations focused on describing the unique structure and standards of the field of journalism,[3] recent work has centered on individual characteristics of the journalists themselves. Journalists have been located according to cognitive attributes which they share with other professionally oriented individuals. Data gathered thus far suggest reasonably enough that some journalists are more professionally oriented than others.[4] The question has become one of examining the makeup of the more highly professional journalists and assessing what makes them different from their less professional counterparts.

One unique series of studies of newspaper journalists directed by McLeod associated criteria of individual professional orientations with other personal values and behavioral characteristics. The baseline study in this series derived a measure of professional orientations of journalists through a factor analytic procedure from previously defined personal indicators of professionalism, and achieved respectable validation of the measure in a survey of 115 editorial personnel employed on Milwaukee daily newspapers.[5] The study also found that newsmen scoring higher on the professionalism measure exhibited both a stronger desire for implementing professional values among their peers and a higher level

of criticism toward their respective newspapers. These newsmen also differed from others on certain demographic indicators.

Later studies have essentially replicated the above results and also presented some evidence of a positive link between professional orientation and journalistic performance as judged both by practicing newsmen and academic press critics.[6] All in all, these studies indicate that some newspaper journalists demonstrate higher professional orientations than others, and that this higher professionalism is associated with higher educational levels, greater criticism of their media, greater willingness to improve the standards of their occupation, less willingness to leave the newsroom for higher-paying jobs, and greater emphasis on public service ideals.

What of the broadcast journalist? While there is a high degree of functional similarity between print and broadcast journalism, differences do exist in the educational prerequisites, required skills, and day-to-day duties. The present study sought to both develop the state of the above research by examining the patterns of professional orientations in another medium, and to describe characteristics of working broadcast journalists, an overlooked area in its own right.

To guide the research, seven working hypotheses based on results of the above studies were posed:

1) Broadcast journalists with a higher professional orientation (HPO) will exhibit a stronger desire for implementation of professional values than broadcast journalists with a lower professional orientation (LPO);

2) HPO broadcast journalists will express more criticism of their respective stations than LPO;

3) HPO broadcast journalists will be less willing to leave the field of journalism for better financial opportunities than LPO;

4) HPO broadcast journalists will be more likely to belong to professional organizations than LPO.

5) HPO broadcast journalists will be more highly educated than LPO;

6) HPO broadcast journalists will differ from LPO in on-the-job behavior characteristics;

7) HPO broadcast journalists will differ from LPO in ranking terms synonymous with "journalistic professionalism."

Methodology

Data were gathered by the administration of questionnaires to the entire population of broadcast journalists working in the Denver, Colo., metropolitan area in spring, 1972.[7]

Broadcast journalists were defined as full-time, permanent employes whose sole duties were comprised of some aspect of news gathering or dissemination at commercial television or radio stations. The Denver metropolitan area at the time of the survey was served by 30 radio stations, three network-affiliated television stations, one independent commercial television station, and one public television station, as well as two daily newspapers. The Denver media market is relatively isolated from other major regional communications systems, and therefore quite self-contained and autonomous.

A total of 120 employes of the four commercial television stations and thirteen radio stations were definable as broadcast journalists.

The remaining seventeen radio stations did not list at least one full-time newsman on their staffs. Questionnaires were pretested on a group of 20 broadcast journalists in a smaller city nearby. The questionnaires were then personally distributed with station management permission at each of the Denver stations during spring, 1972. Sixty respondents returned completed questionnaires in stamped addressed envelopes provided. While this 50 per cent return rate was somewhat low, the respondents appeared quite well-distributed according to known characteristics of the population. Only one individual expressed a refusal to cooperate.

The questionnaire included measures of professional orientation, desire for implementation of professional values, amount of station criticism, willingness to leave broadcast journalism, education, organizational membership, and on-the-job behavior, as well as indicators of other demographic and occupational characteristics. The 21 item index of desired job characteristics developed by McLeod was used as a measure of degree of professional orientation. Eleven of the items described job characteristics reflecting dimensions of criteria for professionalism, and the other 10 reflected job characteristics not associated with professionalism. The latter items served as a control for response set. Respondents were asked to rate the importance to themselves of each job characteristic on a four-point scale ranging from "extremely important" to "not important." Professionalism scores were then computed for each respondent by using the following formula designed to maximize variance on the professionalism items and minimize response set:

$$P = \frac{\Sigma p}{\Sigma np} (np_u),$$

where P is the professionalism score, Σp is the sum of ratings of the professionalism items, Σnp is the sum of ratings of the "non-professionalism" items, and np_u is the mean of ratings of the non-professionalism items. The items and mean scores of all respondents' ratings of each appear in Table I.

Desire for implementation of professional values was indexed by 17 items, each of which respondents evaluated along a seven-point scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." The items reflect six areas of professional values, including freedom of news media, social functions of news media, and ethics, responsibility, objectivity, and training of newsmen. The items appear in Table II.

Respondents' level of criticism toward their respective stations' news coverage was ascertained by asking the newsmen if they thought their stations should be giving more or less or about the same amount of coverage as at present to each of 12 areas of news content (including foreign, national, state, local, crime, women's, education, science, sports, the Viet Nam war, humorous anecdotes, and syndicated features). Responses of "more" or "less" to each area were considered critical of station coverage, and the critical responses were totalled to yield a score for each subject.

Willingness to leave broadcast journalism for better financial opportunities was indexed by items asking whether or not respondents would or would not seriously consider a public relations job with government or private industry if it were offered, and if they would seriously consider such a job, at what level of salary increase they would be likely to accept such a job.

Seventeen items reflecting on-the-job behavior were written and pretested in consultation with working journalists and academicians.

Each item asked how often the respondent engaged in a certain kind of occupational behavior, "often," "sometimes," "rarely," or "never." The items appear in Table III.

Finally, the respondents were given seven words or phrases and were asked to rank them in order of how synonymous they were with journalistic professionalism. The terms included "objectivity," "advocacy," "consistency," "investigation," "opinion-forming," "analysis," and "reflection of the public you serve."

Results

Demographically, ninety-five per cent of the respondents were males, and the total group ranged in age from 21 to 50 with nearly forty per cent falling between ages 26 and 30. Two-thirds were married. Fifty-seven per cent had college degrees and 66 per cent of these had bachelor's degrees in journalism or mass communications. Their years of experience in broadcast journalism ranged from one year to over 20, and about half had between one and six years. Fifty-nine per cent had spent between one and three years with their present employer. Forty-three per cent listed their position at their station as multi-functional; 34 per cent were reporters; 15 per cent were editors or directors; and the remainder were on-the-air personnel, writers, and location camera and soundmen. Their median salary was approximately $11,000 annually, with eight per cent earning under $6,000 and 39 per cent earning over $12,000.

Table I About Here

The professionalism and control items are each rank ordered by mean scores in Table I. "Opportunity for originality and initiative" was the highest ranked professionalism item; the lowest was "opportunity to have an influence on public thinking." The highest ranked control item was "an enjoyment of what's involved in doing the job;" the lowest was "having a job that brings me into contact with important people."

The respondents were divided into two groups according to their professionalism scores, splitting the sample as close to the median score as possible. The higher professional orientation group (HPO) contained 27 respondents and the lower professional orientation group (LPO) contained 33 respondents.

It was hypothesized that the HPO group would score higher than the LPO group on the 17 item measure of desire for implementation of professional values. Summing the individual mean scores of each group and examining the difference between groups yielded a result in the predicted direction, and a t-test yielded an over-all $p < .15$, falling short of statistically confirming the hypotheses at the traditional .05 level. Individual mean scores and t-tests for items appear in Table II. Eleven of the 17 items differed individually in the predicted direction and four of these differences were significant at the .05 level.

TABLE II ABOUT HERE

A second hypothesis suggested that HPO newsmen would express greater criticism of their stations' news coverage. The mean number of critical responses on the 12 news categories for the HPO group was 5.55, while the mean number for the LPO group was 5.40. Again, the difference was as predicted, with a t-test yielding $p < .10$.

With respect to the third hypothesis, 63 per cent of the LPO group said they would seriously consider leaving their present positions for a public relations job, while only 52 per cent of the HPO group said they would do so. This sizable difference was as predicted, but not statistically significant by chi-square test ($p < .20$). The HPO group also indicated they desired a slightly higher salary to move into either a private or government public relations job than the LPO group.

As predicted, the HPO group did belong to significantly more professional organizations than the LPO group, with the HPO mean number of organizations being 1.9 and the LPO mean number being 1.2 ($p < .05$ by t-test). And the HPO group was more highly educated, although only slightly so, than the LPO group.

No substantial differences were found between the HPO and LPO groups on other demographic and occupational characteristics.

TABLE III ABOUT HERE

The two groups did differ substantially on most of the on-the-job behavior items in directions one would generally expect. Differences on six of the items were significant ($p < .05$ by t-test). (See Table III.)

The two groups differed as predicted in their rank ordering of terms as being synonymous with journalistic professionalism (See Table IV). In terms of mean scores of their rankings, the HPO group rated "objectivity," "analysis," and "opinion forming" significantly higher, while rating "reflection of public" significantly lower. These findings and others are discussed in depth below.

TABLE IV ABOUT HERE

Summary and Discussion

The over-all findings tend to support a profile of a particular group of broadcast journalists who follow a professional profile similar to that found among newspaper journalists. Broadcast journalists scoring higher on the professionalism index appeared to desire professional values more, express greater criticism, be less willing to leave the field, be more highly educated and more likely to belong to professional organizations. While these findings were consistent and generally strong, most

were not statistically significant at the typically accepted .05 level. (Most did fall within the .10 level.) However, this lack of significance does not greatly bother us at this point given the exploratory nature of the study and the relatively low sample size. The important point is that these data do conform to expectations derived from the previous professionalism literature, and some insights into occupational orientations of broadcast journalists have been gained.

The broadcast newsmen's rankings of desired job characteristics show a strong similarity to rankings of the same characteristics by newspaper journalists in previous studies. The only marked differences include broadcast newsmen's much higher desire for "freedom from continual close supervision over work" among the professional items, and for the "excitement and variety the job provides" and "being with people who are congenial and easy to work with" among the non-professional items. These differences might well have been anticipated given the nature of broadcast newsmen's duties.

The over-all responses to the professional implementation items yield a mixed, yet consistent, grouping of value orientations toward broadcast journalism. The respondents as a whole strongly agreed that news staffs should strive to "accurately" deal with "significant" news in a "comprehensive" manner. They were also agreed that they had a legitimate claim to helping determine news content and policy, and that newsmen should be willing to go to jail to protect sources; and they agreed that news work is generally satisfying, should be regarded as a profession, and newsmen should form a professional organization. The more professionally oriented newsmen agreed with all of these statements substantially more than the less professionally oriented newsmen.

The newsmen were somewhat neutral in their responses to other implementation items, including the desirability of taking "junkets," mandatory college education, refresher courses, and professional certification.[8]

More professionally oriented newsmen agreed with these statements more, except for the one dealing with professional certification. The certification issue is a controversial one, and often has overtones of some form of licensing. While the more professional newsmen appear to see the need for higher standards within the field, they do not seem anxious to have the more formal regulations at this time that "certification" might imply.

All largely disagreed that writing skill was more important than knowing "how to get the story," and that a station's news function should be cut back if need be for the station to do more than "break even" for its stockholders. More professionally oriented newsmen agreed more than others on the latter item.

In responses to the on-the-job conduct items, the more professionally-oriented newsmen generally differed from the others in ways one would expect. (Table III) For example, they said they resisted instructions with which they disagreed more often, were less influenced by passes, gratuities and junkets, accepted amenities less, and on the whole were more concerned about accuracy in their news presentation. However, the more professionally oriented admitted to a higher degree of what might be called editorializing. That is, they said they were more given to revealing their personal opinions in their treatment of news stories, were more often given instructions by supervisors on how to slant a story, and believed that a newsman's role should include working more for an improved society. This does not necessarily mean that the more professionally-oriented broadcast journalist tries

to editorialize more in his stories. It may just mean that he is more aware of the near impossibility of "objectivity" and more willing to admit it. However, this finding is consistent with data reported in a survey of practices and professional values of a national sample of print and broadcast newsmen conducted by Johnstone, Slawski and Bowman.[9] They identified two subgroups of journalists; one group oriented more toward an active, participant role in news reporting and analysis, and the other oriented more toward a neutral, "straight news" reporting role.

The more participant-oriented journalists were likelier to have been educated at a more selective university, younger, and working in larger cities for larger news organizations with greater prestige. Given these results, we would hypothesize that the participant-oriented journalists would be likelier to score higher on the professionalism than the neutral-oriented journalists.

Is such editorializing, if it can or should really be called that, "unprofessional?" Not necessarily. Bearing in mind that, in addition to this apparent tendency, other results have shown that the more highly professional broadcast journalist is more experienced and more strongly bound to his field, consider the following quote from Cogan:

> ...The practices of the profession are modified by knowledge of a generalized nature and by the accumulated wisdom and experience of mankind, which serve to correct the errors of specialism. The profession, serving the vital needs of man, considers its first ethical imperative to be altruistic service to the client.[10]

If, indeed, the professional broadcast journalist's "client" is the public, then it may well be assumed that his motives in editorializing are altruistic, for few journalists appear to have sufficient influence over the public to reap egoistic rewards from espousing their views. Thus, the seeming tendency toward altruistic editorializing does not appear to be unprofes-

sional. This interpretation, if correct, bears important implications for the future study of professionalism in broadcast and print journalism, for it obviously suggests a very basic and specific difference between the more and the less professional newsmen in treatment of the news.

Professional differences aside, the newsmen's responses to the on-the-job behavior items in and of themselves are revealing. The journalists as a whole indicated that at least "sometimes" they allowed subjects of adverse stories to comment on them prior to release, encouraged news sources to give exclusive stories, and "often" kept news sources confidential when asked by the source. And, a sizable number of newsmen admitted to at least "rarely" being influenced by gratuities and junkets, accepting amenities, altering beliefs or principles for management, using stories from newspapers without checking or rewriting, treating lightly stories with which they disagreed, and revealing personal opinions in treatment of news stories.

We have said nothing about how broadcast (or print) newsmen acquire the attributes described here, and why some newsmen acquire them to a greater extent than others. Conventional wisdom would lead us to suggest education as a discriminating variable in the process, yet education did not appear as a relevant factor here, and has not evolved as a clear predictor of professionalism or other characteristics in previous studies. No doubt the developing newsman goes through a socialization process similar to those found in other occupations, where early education may lay a groundwork for competency in certain required skills, but professional values do not really begin to crystallize until on-the-job experience begins. A thorough examination of this "newsroom socialization"

process is probably long overdue. Breed laid adequate groundwork for such study, but little subsequent research has been conducted.[11] One would suspect that the extent of a broadcast station's commitment to its news department and the size, financial resources, and competence of its news staff would have impact on the professional values and behavior of individual newsmen working for the station. Moreover, the nature and extent of working relationships among members of the news staff could also have influence.[12] For example, the form of organizational structure in the newsroom (autocratic versus democratic, etc.) could be expected to shape professional behavior and perhaps values, as could such variables as degree of interpersonal communication, consensus, accuracy of interpersonal perceptions, and perceived consensus between members of the news staff.

Perhaps the largest obstacle to be met in any attempt at discussion of professionalization of newsmen is the lack of definite criteria as to what makes "professional" news reporting. While certain criteria such as accuracy obviously need to be involved, over-all standardized criteria for judgment are lacking. About the best one can do is rely on consensus of judgments of journalistic practitioners and scholars as to what makes a "good" reporting job and a "good" story. One overlooked criterion which might be applied is simply how well a newsman "knows his audience" and knows his subject matter. We argue that to the extent the newsman lacks knowledge of either, he is failing as a communicator. Naturally, other attributes must be considered, but the above two seem rather essential. Interestingly, in a study of Wisconsin newspaper editors' reporting of a violent campus demonstration, Martin, O'Keefe and Nayman found that whatever bias editors did show in their newspapers were more congruent with the editors' perception of their readers' biases than

with the editors' own personal biases.[15]

We have taken but one of many possible approaches to examining professionalism in broadcast journalism, and believe our results have been fruitful in establishing some basic descriptions of professional orientations of newsmen.

We believe that our data, combined with those of other studies in this area, form the basis for a closer look at the professional roles of print and broadcast newsmen today. Such research could and should have strong implications on the way journalists look at themselves as a profession, and particularly on the educational and training processes used to develop competent journalists.

In describing characteristics of the journalistic occupation from the point of view of the newsman, we hopefully have avoided some of the obvious pitfalls evident in attempting to proscribe professional behavior. Ultimately, any decisions as to the nature of professional standards in this crucial occupation will rest in the hands of the journalists themselves.

FOOTNOTES

1. See, for example: B. Barber, "Some Problems in the Sociology of Professions," Daedalus, 92: 670-74 (1963); E. Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession," Social Work, 2:45-55 (1957); E. Gughes, "Professions," Daedalus, 92:655-61 (1963); P. Kimball, "Journalism: Art, Craft or Profession?" in K. Lynn, ed., The Professions in America (Boston: Beacon, 1963), pp. 242-260; M. Lieberman, Education as a Profession (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1956); W. Moore, "Occupational Socialization," in D. Goslin, ed., Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969), pp. 861-883.

2. J. McLeod, "Research on Professionalization," Address to General Session at the Association for Education in Journalism Convention, Columbia, S.C., 1971.

3. See, for example: E. Gerald, The Social Responsibility of the Press (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1963); W. Rivers and W. Schramm, Responsibility in Mass Communications (New York: Harper and Row, 1969); R Stark, "Policy and the Pros: An Organizational Analysis of a Metropolitan Newspaper," Berkeley Journal of Sociology, 1:11-32 (1962).

4. J. McLeod and S. Hawley, "Professionalization among Newsmen," Journalism Quarterly, 41:529-538 (1964). Leroy, David J. "Levels of Professionalism in a Sample of Television Newsmen." Journal of Broadcasting, 17:51-62 (Winter 1972-73).
5. Op.cit, McLeod and Hawley.
6. T. Coldwell, "Professionalization and Performance Among Newspaper Photographers," Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1970; B. Linehan, "Professional Orientation of Newsmen on State Dailies," Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Wisconsin; J. McLeod and R. Rush, "Professionalization of Latin American and U.S. Journalists: Part I and Part II," Journalism Quarterly, 46:583-90 (1969) and 46:784-789 (1969); O. Nayman, C. Atkin and G. O'Keefe, "Professionalization Among Newsmen in a Developing Country," Journalism Quarterly (In press).

7. The authors thank Sue Blackmun, Irene Posner and Jon Prenez for their assistance in preparing the questionnaire and gathering data.

8. The responses yielded a surprisingly low range of scores and variance for each item. Hence, mean scores near the midpoint of the index can be regarded as "neutral" rather than a matter of having extreme responses at either end of the scale cancelling out each other.

9. J. Johnstone, E. Slawaki and W. Bowman, "The Professional Values of American Newsmen," Public Opinion Quarterly, 36:522-40 (1972-73).

10. M. Cogan, "Toward a Definition of Profession," Harvard Educational Review, 23:34-38 (1953).

11. W. Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom," Social Forces, 33-326-35 (1955).

12. See, for example, D. Bowers, "A Report on Activity by Publishers in Directing Newsroom Operations," Journalism Quarterly, 44:43-52 (1967); C. Donahew, "Newspaper Gatekeepers and Forces in the News Channel," Public Opinion Quarterly, 31:61-68 (1967); D. Drew, "Roles and Decisionmaking of Three Television Beat Reporters," Journal of Broadcasting, 16:165-174 (1972).

13. R. Martin, G. O'Keefe and O. Nayman, "Opinion Agreement and Accuracy Between Editors and Their Readers," Journalism Quarterly, 49:460-68 (1972).

TABLE I

Mean Scores on Desired Job Characteristics for Professional Orientations Index

(N=60)

Item	Mean Score
Professionalism items:	
(1) Opportunity for originality and initiative	1.30
(2) Improving your professional competence	1.34
(3) Full use of your abilities and training	1.37
(3) Opportunity to learn new skills and knowledge	1.37
(4) Respect for the ability and competence of co-workers	1.43
(5) Freedom from continual close supervision over work	1.54
(6) Having a job that is valuable and essential to the community	1.61
(7) A supervisor who appreciates the time you spend in improving your capabilities	1.62
(8) Having a job with a station that is known and respected by journalists at other stations	1.71
(9) Having an influence on important decisions at the station	1.93
(10) Opportunity to have an influence on public thinking	2.10
Control items:	
(1) An enjoyment of what's involved in doing the job	1.27
(2) Excitement and variety the job provides	1.42
(3) Availability of support; working with people who will stand behind a man--who can help out in a tough spot	1.51
(4) Being with people who are congenial and easy to work with	1.56
(5) Salary, earning enough money for a good living	1.64

TABLE I -- Continued

(6)	Getting ahead in the organization you work for	1.82
(7)	Security of the job in its being fairly permanent	1.85
(8)	Having a job with prestige in the community	2.09
(9)	Having a prestigeful job in the organization	2.17
(10)	Having a job that brings me into contact with important people, e.g., community leaders	2.29

Question: "People look for different things in their occupations which make their work satisfying to them. Below are some job characteristics that can be applied to most occupations. We would like to know how important to you they are in any job." For each item: (1) Extremely important; (2) Quite important; (3) Somewhat important; (4) Not important.

TABLE II

Mean Scores on Professional Implementation Items

(N=60)

Item	HPO Mean	LPO Mean	Difference
A journalist should not continue to work for a station if he disagrees with its editorial policy.	4.56	4.81	-.26
The news staff should strive to be accurate in news content.	1.07	1.03	.04
Significant news should receive more news play than sensational news.	1.46	2.00	-.54*
Newsmen should be willing to go to jail if necessary to protect their news sources.	1.85	2.06	-.21
It is all right to take promotional or informational junkets sponsored by business organizations or governmental organizations if there are no strings attached.‡	3.63	2.88	.55*
A college education should be mandatory for all beginning broadcast newsmen.	4.00	4.36	-.36
In early journalism training, it is more important to know how to write the story than how to get the story.‡	4.96	5.25	-.29
For the working newsman, there should be required periodic institutes or refresher courses at a nearby college or university.	3.04	3.39	-.36
In general, news work provides a satisfying life.‡	1.78	2.12	-.36
It is the duty of the station to its stockholders to break even, even at the expense of cutting back the news service function.	5.93	5.06	.87*
The news staff has a legitimate claim to help determine braodcast content and news policies.	1.33	1.88	-.55*
Comprehensive or complete coverage of the day's events should be a station's goal.	1.96	1.94	.02

TABLE II -- Continued

	HPO	LPO	
Generally, journalism should be considered a profession rather than a craft.	1.65	2.27	-.62*
If a son or daughter shows an interest in journalism, he or she should be encouraged to follow it as a career.	2.07	2.54	-.47
Professions such as law and medicine have developed organizations to uphold professional standards. Journalists should form such an organization themselves.	1.96	2.34	-.38
If a member of a professional journalism organization commits an unprofessional act (e.g., takes a bribe, falsifies facts in a story), he should be disciplined by the professional organization (e.g., extreme cases barred from the profession).	2.52	2.49	.03
A journalist should be certified by his professional organization as to qualifications, training and competence.	3.93	3.52	.41

Respondents were asked to evaluate each item on a seven-point scale ranging from "Strongly Agree" (1) to "Strongly Disagree" (7).

* $p < .05$ by t-test

‡ To disagree was hypothesized as the more "professional" response.

TABLE III

Mean Scores on On-the-Job Behavior Items

(N=60)

Item	HPO Mean	LPO Mean	Difference
If someone refuses to answer your query, do you let this influence you in your news treatment of the person?	2.593	2.758	+.165
As a broadcast newsman, do you use stories from newspapers without further queries or rewriting?	1.630	1.758	+.128
Do you treat lightly and avoid depth in a news story with which you disagree?	1.778	2.030	+.252
Do you give a person, institution, organization or government office opportunity to comment on an adverse story prior to release?	3.148	3.364	+.216
When dealing with an institutional or corporation story, do you accept information from employees without confirmation from a responsible official?	1.889	2.000	+.111
Are you given specific instructions by your supervisor on how to slant your story?	1.185	1.152	-.033
Do you reveal your personal opinions in your treatment of news stories?	2.185	1.879	+.936*
Do you subtly resist instructions from your superiors with which you disagree?	2.778	2.333	-.445*
Do you encourage your news sources to give you exclusive stories?	3.077	2 848	-.229
Do press passes or other gratuities favorably influence your news treatment?	1.407	1.848	+.441*
Do you find yourself favorably influenced by junkets?	1.407	1.636	+.229
Have you accepted an amenity from an organization on your beat?	1.346	1.645	+.299*

TABLE III -- Continued

Do you let time pressures affect the accuracy of your news story?	1.926	1.970	+.044
Have you been inadvertently influenced by a good public relations technique, good promotors, or persons with ulterior motives?	2.077	2.094	+.017
Do you keep your news sources confidential if requested by the source (outside of a courtroom situation)?	3.778	3.879	+.101
Should a newsman's role include working for an improved society?	3.600	2.909	-.691***
Does the requirement for a working relationship with supervisors or management ever require any altering of your beliefs or principles?	2.296	1.879	-.417*

Respondents were asked to answer each item "Often" (4); "Sometimes" (3); "Rarely" (2); or "Never" (1).

* $p < .05$ by t-test
*** $p < .005$ by t-test

TABLE IV

Rank Ordering of Synonyms to Journalistic Professionalism

(N=60)

	HPO	Mean	LPO	Mean
1	objectivity*	2.130	objectivity*	1.533
2	investigation	2.524	investigation	2.714
3	analysis*	3.091	consistency	3.593
4	consistency	3.652	reflection of public**	3.786
5	opinion forming***	5.095	analysis*	3.852
6	reflection of public**	5.200	advocacy	5.923
7	advocacy	5.864	opinion forming***	6.148

* $p < .05$ by t-test

** $p < .025$ by t-test

*** $p < .0005$ by t-test